

173 Āgouh-en-Tēhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they
 631 were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the
 Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal
 ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his
 pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Āgouh-en-Tēhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where
 their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was
 supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the
 sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years
 of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were
 part of the Issandaten. The Āgouh-en-Tēhlé went to the Kel Rela,
 and the other fraction, the Téghé-n-Efis, went to the Tāitok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dāg Rāli.
 It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as
 far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[657] They pay a tribute to the aménokal, the same size as that of the
 Dāg Rāli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him.

They are currently allied with the Dāg Rāli and the Relaidin.

They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had
 [648] about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they

rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/
 • 669 belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other
 hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the
 first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/ Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150
 persons at the present time.

The Āgouh-en-Tēhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they
 [233] graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1, 200 to 1, 400 goats.

[651] Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates,
 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated

[233] land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them,
 [241] and they have gardens at Āmsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aitoklane, Arokam, Serouanout, and in the Anahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[237] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

[241] The Aitoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for [423] lack of manpower.

631 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Ithéouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 The Ait Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which [181] must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokar.

The Relaidin. -- The Relaidin probably came from Ait, like the Agouh-en-Téhlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aitoklane.

[162] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied [651] men. They pay the tioussé to the Iboglan.

[177] This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 [237] camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1,500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

631 /197/ They do own a few gardens at Tazerouk, Ti-n-Târabine, Aitoklane, and Sersouf, but all lie fallow.

• [64] During the revolt, they left the Agouh-en-Téhlé in dissent, but they soon surrendered, for their position between the Ahaggar and the Ajjer always put them at the mercy of raids by the latter.

[65] The Relaidin pay an annual tribute of two loads of grain, a pot of butter, and a goat to the aménokal.

[162] To the Relaidin must be added a small fraction on its way toward disappearing: they are the Kel Bardjen, of undetermined origin.

[674] Numbering some ten warriors, they are recognized as inveterate robbers, always encroaching on the nomadic territories of others.

[423] Bardjen is located between Tazerouk, Imerera, and Ideles. The territory of the Kel Bardjen was probably marked off about 1750 and defined by monoliths, some of which bear tfinagh characters.

[122] The Ibettenâten. -- The Ibettenâten are not "Imrad," properly speaking. According to Benhazera, this tribe was formerly noble. They were probably subjugated by the Kel Rela following the murder of an Amacher /singular of Imochar, the aristocratic class. Ed./ committed by one of them. Since then, they pay the tiousse to the aménokal.

The Ibettenâten probably descended from Kel Afella Ifôra on the maternal side and from Tidikelt Arabs on the paternal side.

631 About thirty tents are nomads in the Sudan near Bou Djibiha, but
162 they go up as far as Taoudart and In Ouzal in the Adrar des Ifôras, following the pasture grounds. Fifteen other tents enfeoffed to the Kel Fadél camp in Atr.

They number 160 persons, 62 of them men, in the 1938 census.

631 They are entirely herders, making very few caravans and owning
233 no cultivated lands. They have very fine pasture grounds at their disposal. They own about 800 camels, 1,000 sheep, and (a rare thing, but quite in keeping with their area of nomadization) nearly 100 cows.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
 • [68] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been
 given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the
 column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaña.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tâousit, still called
 644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
 631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command
 at the end of the last century.

[184] Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be
 [24] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion
 to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the
 Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
 [162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[23] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in
 the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tâhalra, and in the region of Silet-
 Abalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

[24] Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
 423 of Tîgeneouin, Abalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm
 grove at Tibeghin, beside Silet.

[69] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to
 speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
 563 synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and
 631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hada

Kel In Rhar'

Kel Tâfedest

Kel Immîdir

Kel Tâzoûlet

Kel I-n-Toûnin

Kel Téroûirt

Kel Ouhet

[563] They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad
[162] Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They former-
[423] ly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaza and Tagemout,
[241] which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and man-
power. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the
[795] sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism
[790] /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims
who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

• [669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and
kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name
to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived
before coming to settle in the Tafedest.

[773] /200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by
Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the di-
vision of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of
the Tafedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the
Immidit.

[533] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1,500
sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head.

[241] They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them
[423] entirely, and at I-n-Amegal, Dêhine, and Abézou.

[795] Like the Ihéiaouen Hâda, they are mostly affiliated with the
Tijaniyyah sect.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us,
which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[224] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the aménokal six bags of dates and
a young camel.

[162] The Kel Tafedest. -- The Kel Tafedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant
people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18
of them women.

563

They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the ^YAseksem, ^YAmegid, and the ^YAdrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[233]

[241]

423

[795]

[651]

They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tāfedest.

They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

The Kel Tāfedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Immidir. -- The Kel Immidir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Ihéiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Ihéiaouen Hāda and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162]

They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immidir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233]

467

They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

[162]

/201/-The Isselamatan must be added to the Kel Immidir. They are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, ^YArak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoulet. -- The Kel Tazoulet or Dāg el Mèsk camp in the Tāzoulet region and near Tāzerouk. They number about 225

[162]

233

[132]

people and own 285 camels and more than 2,000 goats. They dryness of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241]

423

They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tāzerouk.

[162]

They were in contact with the Aīt Loaien and followed the latter in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795]

784

They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

[563] Every year they pay the aménokal three loads of dates and three
[651] young goats.

[554] The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren,
are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihaggarenine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Adrar des Iforas and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ahnet and Tamasna.

[233] This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The
Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

[162] In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra.
The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

[651] /202/ They pay the tiousse to the descendants of the Inemba
and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

[669] Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they maintained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Adrar des Iforas held them in suspicion for a long time.

[281] Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are
[461] quite expert in leatherwork.

[600] There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have
no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

631 Taken away from the Tāitok and made free, they were put back under their command in 1909.

631 They nomadize from Silet to Reggan and Aoulef. The land over which they range includes all of the Adrar Ahnet, the Aseg'rad, 131 and part of the Immidir. The boundaries which separate them from the Issekkemāren are as follows: Tin Tir'atimine and Tagemout (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the northeast; Arak wadi as far as Amsir, and Méniet (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the east, by the In Rabir well; they have at their disposal all the mountainous part on the south, including In Ziza and Nahalet, that is, the whole region bordering on the Tanezrouft and bounded on the east by Ouallen, the last watering place before the Tanezrouft; to the north by the Asouf Mellen wadi.

132 In dry years they descend to the Sudan in the region of In Abangarit-In Gall and Tamaṭa. They camp near the Tāitok in the Adrar Tazerzaft, where they escape the control of the Algerian and Sudanese authorities.

They formerly exploited a sebkha in the In Méraguen wadi.

631 In 1905 they were a group of 35 to 40 tents. In the 1938 census, 162 they numbered no more than 58 persons, 21 of them men.

181 Rather pugnacious by nature, they always accompany the 721 Tāitok on their expeditions and share the loot with them in equal parts.

• 669 During the World War, they stayed in the Ahnet and /207/ took part in the revolt only individually by supplying the rebels, willingly or by force. Only at the end of 1917, under the influence of Ajjer elements, did they rise up and pillage in Adrar and at Akabli.

181 They are rather unreligious; they follow the Malekite rite, 795 and some are members of the Tijaniyyah order. They profess great respect for the marabouts and willingly receive them in their camps. At the beginning of the conflict the agitator Abidine of

669 the Timbuktu Kounta, took refuge among them; he had led the struggle against us in Timbuktu for a long time.

631 The Kel I-n-Touân owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tâfedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Tâitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the Tâitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Ajjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

After their surrender to the French, the Tâitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

• [64] They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Ajjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Tâitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Amastân made to keep them.

[62] They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tâfedest massif and go up as high as the Adrar Ifetessen on the foothills of Immâdir.

[512] They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

[233] Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300 goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241] They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[62] The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Ahnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Ajjer.

193 /210/ When an Ajjer (or Ifôras) woman had been taken prisoner by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéradji, it was Amastân ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Ahnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren.

(1)

631
[173]

1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les
Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582]

They often camp near the Dăg Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669]

During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Taitok in their peregrinations.

[423]

They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghin, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given to Moussa ag Amastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tioussé paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

[233]

[651]

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dăg Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Taitok tobol.

[192]

Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Amastan.

[162]

They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

[423]

They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dăg Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dăg Râli.

[162]

The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ajjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

[162]

The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeien form a little tribe of some 15 tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

619 Kel-I-n-Toûnin Imrad rather than accept the supremacy of Moussa
 648 ag Amastân and the Kel Rela. For a long time they kept up the
 agitation, encouraged by the former Aménokal Attici ag Amellal,
 and they were one of the causes of our difficulties with the Ajjer.

619 It is now a small tribe of about 15 tents nomadizing near
 [62] Amegid, the Ounane, the Eguéré, and /212/ Tîramar. Its strength
 comes especially from its vassals, who could not be more turbulent.

[62] They probably participated in the massacre of the Flatters mission,
 and Attici and Anaba ag Amellal, the leaders of the drama, be-
 longed to that fraction.

The Tégéhé-Mellet have no Imrad properly speaking, but
 several Issekkemâren fractions are enfeoffed to them.

The Kel Terourirt. -- The Kel Terourirt are Issekkemâren and
 nomadize northeast of the Ahaggar near Tîramar, Tahihaout,
 [62] Ounane, the Eguéré, and the Garet ed Djenoun. They number 25
 tents at the moment:

[62] During the 1916 events, they followed the Kel Ouhet and the
 Kel I-n-Toûnin in rebelling.

[65] They pay the annar of the Tégéhé Mellet a tiousse which
 annually adds up to four bags of dates and four goats.

The Kel Ouhet. -- Like the Kel Têrouirt, the Kel Ouhet are
 Issekkemâren. They are subdivided into several small fractions: the
 [62] Kel Raris, the Dâg-Khamaya, and the Dâg Iknân. In all there are
 about 40 tents (51 persons in the 1938 census, 23 of them men).

They camp in the northern part of the Tâfedest massif and go as
 far as Amegid and into the Igharghar Valley.

[233] They own a number of camels and frequently visit the markets
 [439] of the Tidikelt and Ghat.

Some of them have left the Ahaggar and now live in the Ajjer.

The Kel Torha. -- The Kel Torha, or Dâg Houa, are Aît Loaien
 and their small fraction is in the process of disappearing. Although
 they live with the Aît Loaien who belong to the Kel Rela tobol,
 [65] they pay the annual tiousse of a mézoued of dates to the Tégéhé-
 Mellet.

797 Abd Allah Ed-Djafar, a lieutenant of Sidi Okba ben Nafi (died in 683), whose two companions died near a little Hirhafok village, at Tiokine exactly, where their tombs are still the objects of veneration to a certain degree.

In legends the natives even claim that Sidi Okba was killed by a Tuareg (Koceilata), thus confusing their history with that of the people from Aurès and the Kounta Dag Ech Cheikh who call themselves the descendants of Sidi Okba. This explains the ancestral hate which exists between them and the Tuareg. It has, however, been proved that Sidi Okba ben Nafi never penetrated into the Sahara, although perhaps it is a question of a confusion of names or a homonym.

[172] In addition to the Tiokine tombs, there is the rock inscription painted on the ceiling of a grotto at T-i-m-missao which testifies to the passage of the first Islamizers. This was pointed out for the first time by Duveyrier and followed up by Benhazéra, (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, pp. 205-208.

Since then, this inscription has been the subject of a detailed study by Th. Monod, Journal des Africanistes, vol. VIII, part 1, 1938, pp. 83-95.

[177] We must not believe that the Tuareg adopted Islamism right away, for although they accepted the Koran as a guide to their religious faith, they gave up nothing of their mores or their former pagan customs. The Arabs even claim that they apostasized as much as fourteen times, and they still consider them very lukewarm Moslems today. Furthermore, they probably belonged for a long time to the heretical sect of Wahabis, with whom they were allied; this was just another way of rebelling against the conquerors.

771 The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do
 78/ not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them
 [180] make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to
 Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern
 Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men

1. Op. cit., p. 413.

among the Ihaggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth
 already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that
 he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious
 dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a
 perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their
 [169] religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instru-
 773] ments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this
 to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war,
 as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of
 the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their
 thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

871 At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the
 773] Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural
 centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for
 Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to
 them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally
 from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty
 years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed
 in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of
 the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to
 Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place,
 [180] and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el
 [559] Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still
 quite young, and he is surrounded by great respect.

797 In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset
 said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

Air

607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law (*alegges*, pl. *ilousan*),
 [601] or sisters-in-law (*taleggest*, pl. *tilousin*), while the spouses of descendants of all
 [606] brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law (*adeggat*, pl. *idoulan*), or
 daughters-in-law (*adeggalt*, pl. *tedoulin*). These terms are always used reciprocally,
 and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized
 634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the
 614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble
 565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged
 [687] to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is
 said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely
 not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the
 634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the
 614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other
 565 drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel
 114 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg
 claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and
 Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. - Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd
 thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans
 the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel
 Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation
 was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg
 are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems
 to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related
 to the Ihaḡanaren clan of Tasili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter
 clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from
 634 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power
 614 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the
 565 Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have
 had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibara-rochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by
 [558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who
 however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-
 chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission
 and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-
 wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel
 Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief
 • [669] had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign
 Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

In the introductory chapter on the Tuareg I mentioned that they fall into a number of main groups. 101
These groups or federations constitute the largest political units and are the following:— the *Kel* 642
Ahaggar, the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Adrar*, the *Kel Ayr*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwllennmeden Kel Dennek*, and
the *Iwllennmeden Kel Ataram*. The federation of *Kel Taikmuket* in the region of Timbuktu was sub-
jected to the *Iwllennmeden Kel Ataram* from about A.D. 1800 (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). In this chapter
I attempt to outline the structure of some of the federations, and to consider certain problems con-
nected with their historical development.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg which are so intimately related to one another, both culturally 173
and linguistically, formed originally one large political group under the command of the very powerful 642
noble tribe, the *Imenan* in the region of Ganel. It was not only considered noble to a very high degree, 614
but it was very highly estimated because of its supposed relationship to the Prophets. Many noble 565
Tuareg to-day, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, will claim themselves to be *Ercherfen* through relation-
ship to the ancient *Imenan*, whose leader was the supreme chief of all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasile-
n-Ajjer until about A.D. 1650 or somewhat later in the 17th century. The *Imenan* about that date 669
lost their power owing to insurrections led by the powerful noble tribe, the *Uraen*. A Tuareg of this 643
tribe killed the supreme chief named *Guma* and the leadership of the *Kel Ajjer* now passed over to
the chief of the *Uraen*.

The political system of the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century has been described in some detail 175
by Duveyrier with particular reference to the *Kel Ajjer* among whom he lived in 1859 (cf. Duveyrier 64
1864). Among the authors who visited the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century Duveyrier is by far
the most important, and his brief description of political organization is of particular value.

When the *Imenan* lost their supreme authority owing to the rising of the *Uraen*, they retained 413
their titles of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*), which are used for all descendants of the *Imenan*, their 619
women even to-day being known as *Timenukalin* (sing. *Tamenukalt*). The chief of the *Imenan* was
still "the *Amenukal*", a title used for supreme and independent chiefs of large political units. It is a
word known to all Tuareg, and there have been some discussion about its proper meaning. The
meaning according to Duveyrier is "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this inter-
pretation is that generally followed by modern authors (e.g., Lhote 1955, p. 189; Blanguernon 1955,
p. 47), though Foucauld does not go into the proper meaning of the word *Amenukal* but contents
himself with the statement that it is the title of "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief"
(Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213 f.). According to Prasse *Amenukal* is very probably a compound of
[p. 393]